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THE DISPUTE adjusted, ABOUT THE *PROPER TIME*

Of applying for a

REPEAL

OF THE

Corporation and *Test* ACTS:

By Shewing

That *No Time* is proper.

By the Right Reverend Father in God, *Edm.* Lord Bishop of *London.*

To which are added,

The Advantages propos'd by Repealing the *Sacramental Test:* As also, some *Queries* relating thereto.

By the Reverend Dr. *J. S. D. S. P. D.*

DUBLIN:

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THE DISPUTE adjusted, ABOUT THE PROPER TIME, &c.

THERE is now a warm Controverſy among the Diſſenters, about the moſt *Proper Time* to attempt a Repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts; whether at the Concluſion of an old Parliament, or the Beginning of a new. I leave them to debate and determine that Point among themſelves; but as the Cauſe is ſtill depending, I beg Leave to make myſelf ſo far a Party to it, as to offer a few Reaſons why I think *No Time* at all is proper.

It will not be denied by either of the contending Parties, that thoſe two Acts were de-

deſigned for the Security and Support of the Eſtabliſh'd Conſtitution in Church and State. The Corporation-Act, in particular, was levelled wholly againſt the Diſſenters; and though the Teſt Act had a more immediate Eye to the Papiſts, and the Diſſenters inſiſt upon it as great Merit on their Part that they did not oppoſe it; upon ſome Encouragement given, as they pretend, to be relieved from the Penalties of it in one Time or another; yet when their Caſe came under a ſolemn Deliberation in Parliament immediately after the Revolution, and a Toleration was granted them, the Legiſlature was ſo far from *Exempting*, that they expreſſly *Included* them in the Diſabilities and Penalties of the Teſt Act. This appears from the Act of Toleration; which having enumerated ſeveral Laws againſt Papiſts that ſhall not thenceforth be conſtrued to extend to Diſſenters; adds, *Nor any other Law or Statute of this Realm made againſt Papiſts or Popiſh Recuſants, EXCEPT the Statute made in the five and twentieth Year of King* Charles *the Second*, entituled, *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants*; the ſame that we commonly call the *Teſt* Act.

In the latter End of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, An Act was paſſed againſt *Occaſional Conformiſts*; by which Diſſenters who ſhould qua-

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lify themſelves for Offices according to the Teſt Act, were reſtrained from going to Conventicles as long as they continued in thoſe Offices. But this was repealed in the Beginning of the next Reign, upon theſe Conſiderations (as we may ſuppoſe) among others, That by receiving the Sacrament according to the Church of *England*, they did all that the Teſt Act requires; That ſuch receiving it was an Evidence that though they liked their own Way better, they did not think our's unlawful; That the Act of Toleration could not be ſuppoſed to leave them in a worſe Condition, in any Reſpect, than they found them; and That they might have no pretence to ſay, that they did not enjoy their Toleration *to the full*. Whereas the *preſent Attempt* to repeal the Corporation and Teſt Acts, is to let thoſe into Places of Power and Truſt, who think the Service of the Church of *England* to be *ſinful*; and who, in Conſequence have not only a rooted Averſion to it, but think themſelves bound in Conſcience to do all that is in their Power to aboliſh it. It has been made Matter of Complaint on this Occaſion, that thoſe among the Diſſenters who are moſt *ſtrictly Conſcientious* (meaning the laſt Sort) ſhould be worſt uſed; and it would be pity it ſhould be ſo, if one Part of that Conſcience, were not to deſtroy the eſta-

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bliſhed Worſhip and Government, as ſoon as they can.

Much has been ſaid about the Propriety or Impropriety of making the Sacrament a Teſt in *Civil Affairs*; a Point, that was fully diſcuſſed ſome Years ſince by two Combatants of great Note, who have now the Honour to ſit upon the Biſhops Bench, and between whom I leave it. Only with theſe Obſervations, 1. That it is incumbent upon thoſe Diſſenters (if any ſuch there be) who reſt *ſingly* upon that Objection; to find ſome *other* Teſt that will effectually keep out both Papiſts and Diſſenters. 2. That thoſe Friends of the Diſſenters who offer'd a Clauſe in Parliament preſently after the Revolution, that the Receiving the Sacrament in their own Meetings and a Certificate thereof, ſhould be a ſufficient Qualification, could not but ſee, that the Objection was altogether as ſtrong againſt a *Sacramental* Teſt in a *Conventicle*, as in a *Church*. 3. That the dwelling upon this Head is an artful Way of drawing the Attention of the Readers from the main Point, which is not, What kind of Teſt is moſt proper and effectual, but whether or no there ought to be any Teſt at all?

There is one Thing obſervable in the Teſt Act, which has not been commonly attended to, though of ſome Importance in the preſent

preſent Caſe. The Diſſenters plead, that there was no Deſire or Intention in the Legiſlature to include them in the Diſabilities and Penalties of that Act. Be it ſo. I would then ask, Why, beſides the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Declaration againſt Tranſubſtantiation, (all which are required by that very Act) did the Legiſlature think fit to require the *Sacramental Teſt*, which is the only Thing in it that affects the Diſſenters? The Anſwer of a Diſſenter muſt be, That the Legiſlature thought they could not effectually exclude the Papiſts without that Teſt. From whence the Conſequence is, that if they did not deſire to exclude the Diſſenters from Offices, they muſt believe that a Sacramental Teſt was abſolutely neceſſary to exclude the Papiſts. Upon which another Queſtion ariſes, What then ſhall exclude the Papiſts, if the Sacramental Teſt be aboliſhed? Not Oaths, nor Declarations, which it is plain the Legiſlature at that Time looked upon as diſpenſible Matters, and ſuch Securities as might be broke thro' for the Good of the Catholick Cauſe. But their joining with the Church of *England* in the moſt ſolemn Act of Chriſtian Worſhip, is a Bar of the ſtrongeſt Kind; it is an open and publick Acknowledgment, that our Church isa true Church, and our Miniſtry a true Miniſtry, and We true Members

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of the Catholick Church of Chriſt; notwithſtanding our Separation from the Church of *Rome*.

In the Books which have been written upon this Subject, in Favour of the Diſſenters, we have heard much of *Natural Rights*, and the unjuſt Invaſion of thoſe Rights by the Corporation and Teſt Acts. But is not Society and Government itſelf founded in an *Abridgment* of Natural Rights, in ſuch Inſtances and ſuch Degrees, as in the Judgment of the Legiſlature the Safety and Welfare of the *Whole* requires? Look into the preſent Conſtitution of *Parliament*, and ſee how Natural Rights ſtand there. Can any Right be more natural, than that they, whoſe Property is to be diſpoſed of ſhould have a Vote in returning thoſe who are to diſpoſe of it; and yet what Numbers are excluded from voting, whoſe Property is equally affected with that of their Fellow-Subjects? Has not every one a natural Right to a Capacity of repreſenting his Country in Parliament, and every Elector as good a Right to chuſe the Perſon whom he thinks moſt fit to be truſted, and beſt qualified for the Service; and yet, what Numbers are now excluded from receiving that Truſt, how well ſoever qualified in all other Reſpects, if they be not poſſeſſed of Eſtates to a certain Value, as Pledges of a ſincere and ſteady Con-

Concern for the Intereſt of their Country. Juſt ſo it is, and no otherwiſe, in the Caſe of the Corporation and Teſt Acts. The Legiſlature of the Kingdom has thought fit to eſtabliſh a National Church, as the beſt Means of promoting Religion, and preſerving Peace and Order in the State; and now they ſtand accuſed by theſe Men of an unjuſt Uſurpation upon Natural Rights, becauſe they have taken Care that none be admitted to Offices of Power and Truſt, who do not think Communion according to that Church to be at leaſt *lawful*; or, in other Words, becauſe they have abſolutely excluded thoſe, who judging it *unlawful*, as in itſelf *ſinful*, are obliged in Conſcience to deſtroy it as ſoon as they can.

The Truth of the Caſe is this; many of thoſe who are moſt zealous for aboliſhing thoſe Acts as Infringements of Natural Right, are alſo in Principle againſt any Church-Eſtabliſhment at all; and look upon all Interpoſitions of the Civil Power, in eſtabliſhing and maintaining a National Religion, to be as much Uſurpations upon the Rights and Liberties of Mankind, as the Laws they have made for the Defence of that Eſtabliſhment. And in this they argue conſiſtently, and both they and we are regular in drawing our *Concluſions*, tho' from different Principles. If there ought to be

no Church-Eſtabliſhment, there ought to be no excluſive Laws to preſerve that in being, which ought not to be at all; and if there ought to be a Church-Eſtabliſhment, certainly Power ought to be kept out of thoſe Hands, whoſe Principle it is to deſtroy it: So that the true State of the Caſe between the Church and the Diſſenters in this Matter of the Toleration and Teſt Acts is, Whether or no the Civil Power *can* eſtabliſh a National Church; and, if they can, whether it is or is not conducive to the Ends of Religion and of publick Peace and Order, that ſuch a Church be eſtabliſhed; and after the Eſtabliſhment, that it be maintain'd and preſerv'd. When theſe Points are ſettled, the *Conſequences* on either Side will admit of no Diſpute; and whatever Reaſonings do not take their Riſe from hence (as the Suggeſtions of Natural Right, Ability to ſerve, Affection to the Government in the State, and the like) are really no better than Declamation and Amuſement.

It might be expected, that the Diſſenters, ſhould ſtrengthen this Argument of Natural Right, by Inſtances fetch'd from *other* Countries, where they could alledge, that Civil Offices are beſtow'd without any Regard to Affection or Diſaffection to the National Religion. But if no ſuch Inſtances are to be found, me thinks it ſhould give a Check

Check to the Declamations upon that Head; and one would hope, that common Modesty should restrain People from supposing, that all Countries (even *Holland* itself, so fam'd for Liberty) could go on without Remorse, in a Practice so unjust and abominable as this has been represented in some late Writings.

Upon the whole, if I might be thought worthy to advise the Dissenters, they should not take their Measures of Fitness or Unfitness for the Attempt, either from an old or new Parliament; but they should wait till they have wrought the Body of the Nation into a Belief, that there ought to be no Church-Establishment at all, or into a thorow Dislike of the present Establishment, or at least into a greater Disposition to give it up, or to see it hurt, than hitherto appears either among Clergy or People. And to proceed regularly in the Work, they should also wait till they have seen they have convinced the Crown, that an Episcopal Church is not so well adapted to the Support of Monarchy, as the Presbyterian or Independent Model; or that the Services which the Bishops and Clergy, and the Friends of the establish'd Church can perform to the Monarch upon the Throne, are not considerable enough to put into the Balance against those which He may expect from the Dissenters

ſenters and their well-Wiſhers; or that among thoſe who are *willing* to give Pledges which the Law requires for the Security of Church and State, there are not Numbers or Abilities ſufficient for the Adminiſtration of Offices, Civil and Military. And there is one Difficulty more which ſeems to lie in their Way; That by the Act of Union in the Sixth of Queen *Anne*, *All and ſingular Acts of Parliament then in Force, for the Eſtabliſhment and Preſervation of the Church of* England, *and the Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government thereof, ſhall remain and be in full Force for ever:* And this Act is alſo declared to be *an eſſential and fundamental Part of the Union between the two Kingdoms.*

When the Way is thus prepared, they will eaſily attain their End: but this will be a Work of Time; and I am apt to think, they will find it difficult to perſwade conſiderate and impartial Men, that the Bounds between the Church and the Diſſenters can be more wiſely adjuſted, than is already done in the Settlement made by the Legiſlature immediately after the Revolution; when that Matter was maturely conſidered by as able Heads as any Age has produced, and at a Time when the Diſſenters cannot pretend, that there was not a Diſpoſition to conſider their Caſe in the moſt favourable

vourable Light that the Conſtitution in Church and State would fairly admit. We have had long Experience of the good Effects of what was then ſettled; and one may venture to foretell, without the Spirit of Prophecy, that whenever that Foundation is alter'd, (whenever the Church ſhall break in upon the Toleration, or the Toleration upon the Church) the Peace of this Country is at an End.

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THE ADVANTAGES Propos'd by REPEALING THE *Sacramental Teſt*, &c.

WHOEVER writes impartially upon this Subject, muſt do it not only as a meer ſecular Man, but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular Syſtem of Chriſtianity. And, I think, in whatever Country that Religion predominates, there is one certain Form of Worſhip Eſtabliſhed, and conſequently only the

the Prieſts of that particular Form, are maintained at the Publick Charge, and all Civil Emyloyments are beſtowed among thoſe who comply (at leaſt outwardly) with the ſame Eſtabliſhment.

This Method is ſtrictly obſerved, even by our Neighbours the *Dutch*, who are confeſſed to allow the fulleſt Liberty to Conſcience, of any Chriſtian State; and yet are never known to admit any Perſons into Religious or Civil Offices, who do not conform to the legal Worſhip. As to their Military Men, they are indeed not ſo ſcrupulous, being, by the Nature of their Government, under a Neceſſity of hiring foreign Troops of whatever Religious Denomination, upon every great Emergency, and maintaining no ſmall Number in Time of Peace.

This Caution therefore of making one eſtabliſhed Faith, ſeems to be univerſal, and founded upon the ſtrongeſt Reaſons; the miſtaken or affected Zeal of Obſtinacy, and Enthuſiaſm, having produced ſuch a Number of horrible, deſtructive Events, throughout all *Chriſtendom*. For whoever begins to think the National Worſhip is wrong, in any important Article of Practice or Belief, will, if he be ſerious, naturally have a Zeal to make as many Proſelytes as he can, and a Nation may poſſibly have an Hundred different Sects with their Leaders; every one of which hath

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an equal Right to plead; that they muſt *obey God rather than Man*, muſt *cry aloud and ſpare not*, muſt *lift up their Voice like a Trumpet*.

This was the very Caſe of *England*, during the Fanatick Times. And againſt all this, there ſeems to be no Defence, but that of ſupporting one eſtabliſhed Form of Doctrine and Diſcipline, leaving the reſt to a bare Liberty of Conſcience; but without any Maintenance or Encouragement from the Publick.

Wherever this National Religion grows ſo corrupt, or is thought to do ſo by a very great Majority of learned People, joined to the governing Party, whether Prince or Senate, or both, it ought to be changed, provided the Work might be done without Blood or Tumults. Yet, whenever ſuch a Change ſhall be made, ſome other Eſtabliſhment muſt ſucceed, altho' for the Worſe, allowing all Deviations that would break the Union to be only tolerated. In this Senſe, thoſe who affirm, that every Law, which is contrary to the Law of God, is void in its ſelf, ſeem to be miſtaken. For, many Laws in PopiſhKingdoms and States, many more among the Turks, and perhaps not a few in other Countries, are directly againſt the Divine Laws; and yet, GOD knows, are very far from being void in the executive Parts.

Thus, for Inſtance, if the three Eſtates of Parliament in *England* (whereof the Lords Spi-

Spiritual who Repreſent the Church are one, ſhould agree, and obtain the Royal Aſſent to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, together with the Liturgy, and the whole Frame of the *Engliſh* Church, as *burthenſome, dangerous, and contrary to Holy Scripture.* and that Presbytery, Anabaptiſm, Quakeriſm, Independency, Muggletonianiſm, Browniſm, Familiſm, or any other ſub-divided Sect among us, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in its Place; without Queſtion all peaceable Subjects ought paſſively to ſubmit, and the predominant Sect muſt become the Religion eſtabliſhed, the Publick maintaining no other Teachers, nor admitting any Perſons of a different religious Profeſſion, into Civil Offices; at leaſt, if their Intention be to preſerve the Nation in Peace.

Suppoſing then, that the preſent Syſtem of Religion were aboliſhed; and Presbytery, which ſtands much the faireſt, with its Synods and Claſſes, and all its Forms and Ceremonies, eſſential or circumſtantial, were erected into the National Worſhip: Their Teachers, and no others, could have any legal Claim to be ſupported at the Publick Charge, whether by Stipends or Tythes; and only the reſt of the ſame Faith to be capable of civil Employments.

If there be any true Reaſoning in what I have laid down, it ſhould ſeem, that the Project now in Agitation for repealing the Teſt

Act, and yet leaving the Name of an Eſtabliſhment to the preſent National Church, is altogether inconſiſtent, and may admit of Conſequences, which thoſe, who are the moſt indifferent to any Religion at all, are poſſibly not aware of.

I preſume, whenever the Teſt ſhall be repealed, which obliges all Men, who enter into Office under the Crown, to receive the Sacrament according to the Rites of the Church of *Ireland*, the Way to Employments will immediately be left open to all Diſſenters, (except Papiſts) whoſe Conſciences can ſuffer them to take the common Oaths in ſuch Caſes preſcribed, after which they are qualified to fill any Lay Station in this Kingdom, from that of Chief Governor, to an Exciſe-Man.

Thus of the three Judges on each Bench, the firſt may be a Presbyterian, the ſecond a Free-Will Baptiſt, and the third a Churchman; the *Lord Chancellor* may be an Independant; the Revenues may be managed by ſeven Commiſſioners of as many different Sects; and the like of all other Employments. Not to mention the ſtrong Probability, that the Lawfulneſs of taking Oaths may be *revealed* to the Quakers, who then will ſtand upon as good a Foot for Preferment, as any other loyal Subject,— It is eaſy to imagine, under ſuch a motly Adminiſtration of Affairs, what a claſhing there will be of Intereſts and Incli-

Inclinations, what Pullings and Hawlings backwards and forwards, what a Zeal and Byaſs in each Religioniſt, to advance his own Tribe, and depreſs the others. For, I ſuppoſe nothing will be readier granted, than that how indifferent ſoever moſt Men are in Faith and Morals, yet whether out of Artifice, natural Complexion, or Love of Contradiction, none are more obſtinate in maintaining their own Opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than thoſe who publickly ſhew the leaſt Senſe, either of Religion or common Honeſty.

As to the latter, Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, that the Presbyterians, in the Fanatick Times, profeſſed themſelves to be above Morality; which, as we find in ſome of their Writings, was numbered among the *Beggarly Elements*; and accordingly at this Day, no Scruples of Conſcience with Regard to Conformity, are in any Trade or Calling, inconſiſtent with the greateſt Fraud, Oppreſſion, Perjury, or any other Vice.

This brings to my Memory a Paſſage in *Montaigne*, of a common Proſtitute, who, in the ſtorming of a Town, when a Soldier came up to her Chamber, and offered Violence to her Chaſtity, rather choſe to venture her Neck, by leaping out of the Window, than ſuffer a Rape; yet ſtill continued her Trade of Lewdneſs, while ſhe had any Cuſtomers left.

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I confeſs, that in my private Judgment, an unlimited Permiſſion of all Sects whatſoever (except Papiſts) to enjoy Employments, would be leſs pernicious to the Publick, than a fair Struggle between two Contenders; becauſe in the former Caſe, ſuch a Jumble of Principles, might poſſibly have the Effect of contrary Poyſons mingled together, which a ſtrong Conſtitution might perhaps be able for ſome Time to ſurvive.

But however, I ſhall take the other, and more probable Suppoſition, that this Battle for Employments, is to be fought only between the Presbyterians, and thoſe of the Church *yet* eſtabliſhed. I ſhall not enter into the Merits of either Side, by examining which of the two is the better ſpiritual Oeconomy, or which is moſt ſuited to the Civil Conſtitution. But the Queſtion turns upon this Point: When the Presbyterians ſhall have got their Share of Employments (which muſt be one full half, or elſe they cannot look upon themſelves, as fairly dealt with) I ask, whether they ought not by their own Principles, and by the ſtricteſt Rules of Conſcience, to uſe the utmoſt of their Skill, Power, and Influence, in order to reduce the whole Kingdom to an Uniformity in Religion, both as to Doctrine and Diſcipline, moſt agreeable to the Word of God. Wherein, if they can ſucceed without Blood (as under the preſent Diſpoſition of Things, it is very poſ-

Poſſible they may) it is to be hoped they will at laſt be ſatisfied; Only I would warn them of a few Difficulties. The firſt is for compromiſing among themſelves the important Controverſy about the *Old Light* and the *New*, which otherwiſe may, after this Eſtabliſhment, ſplit them as wide as Papiſt and Proteſtant, Whig and Tory, or Churchmen and Diſſenters; and conſequently the Work will be to begin again. For in Religious Quarrels, it is of little Moment how few or ſmall the Differences are, eſpecially when the Diſpute is only about Power. Thus the zealous Presbyterians of the North, are more alienated from the eſtabliſhed Clergy, than from the Romiſh Prieſts; taxing the former with idolatrous Worſhip, as diſguiſed Papiſts, Ceremony Mongers, and many other Terms of Art, and this for a very powerful Reaſon, becauſe the Clergy ſtand in their Way, which the Popiſh Prieſts do not. Thus I am aſſured, that the Quarrel berween *Old* and *New Light-Men*, is managed with more Rage and Rancour, than any other Diſpute of the higheſt Importance; and this becauſe it ſerves to leſſen or increaſe their ſeveral Congregations, from whom they receive their Contributions.

Another Difficulty, which may embarraſs the Presbyterians after their Eſtabliſhment, will be how to adjuſt their Claim of the Kirk's Independency on the Civil Power, with the Con-

Conſtitution of this Monarchy: a Point ſo delicate, that it hath often filled the Heads of great Patriots with dangerous Notions of the Church Clergy, without the leaſt Ground of Suſpicion.

As to the Presbyterians allowing Liberty of Conſcience to thoſe of Epiſcopal Principles, when their own Kirk ſhall be predominant, their Writers are ſo univerſally agreed in the Negative, as well as their Practice during *Oliver*'s Reign, that I believe no reaſonable Church-man, (who muſt then be a Diſſenter) will expect it.

I ſhall here take Notice, that in the Diviſion of Employments among the Presbyterians, after this approaching Repeal of the Teſt Act, ſuppoſing them, in proper Time, to have an equal Share, I compute the Odds will be three or four to one on their Side, in any further Scheme they may have towards making their Religion National. For I reckon, all thoſe Gentlemen ſent over from *England*, whatever Religion they profeſs, or have been educated in, to be of that Party: Since it is no Mark of Prudence, for any Perſons to oppoſe the Current of a Nation, where they are in ſome Sort only Sojourners, unleſs they *have it in Direction*.

If there be any Maxim in Politicks, not to be controulled, it muſt be the following. That thoſe whoſe private Intereſt is united with the Intereſt of their Country, ſuppo-

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ſing them to be of equal Underſtanding with the reſt of their Neighbours, will heartily wiſh, that the Nation ſhould thrive. Out of theſe are indubitably excepted all Perſons who are ſent from another Kingdom, to be employed in Places of Profit or Power; becauſe they can poſſibly bear no Affection to the Place where they ſojourn, even for Life; their ſole buſineſs being to advance themſelves by following the Advice of their *Principals*, I except likewiſe, thoſe Perſons who are taken into Offices, although Natives of the Land, becauſe they are greater Gainers while they keep their Offices, than they could poſſibly be by mending the miſerable Condition of their Country.

I except, Thirdly, all Hopers, who, by ballancing Accounts with themſelves, turn the Scale on the ſame Side; becauſe the ſtrong Expectation of a good certain Sallary, will outweigh the Loſs by bad Rents, received out of Lands in moneyleſs Times.

If my Lords, the Biſhops, who, I hear, are now employed in a Scheme for regulating the Conduct and Maintenance of the inferior Clergy, ſhall in their Wiſdom and Piety, and Love of the Church, conſent to this Repeal of the Teſt, I have not the leaſt Doubt, that the whole Reverend Body will chearfully ſubmit to their Spiritual Fathers, of whoſe paternal Tenderneſs for their Welfare, they have already found ſo many *amazing* Inſtances.

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I am not, therefore, under the leaſt Concern about the Clergy on this Account. They will (*for ſome Time*) be no great Sufferers by this Repeal; becauſe I cannot recollect among all our Sects, any one that gives Latitude enough to take the Oaths required at an Inſtitution to a Church-living; and, untill that Bar ſhall be removed, the preſent Epiſcopal Clergy are ſafe for two Years. Although it may be thought ſomewhat unequal, that in the Northern Parts, where there may be three Diſſenters to one Churchman, the whole Revenue ſhould be engroſſed by one who hath ſo ſmall a Part of the Cure.

It is true indeed, that this Diſadvantage, which the Diſſenters at preſent lye under, of a Diſability to receive Church Preferments, will be eaſily remedied by the Repeal of the Teſt. For the Diſſenting Teachers are under no Incapacity of accepting Civil and Military Employments, wherein they agree perfectly with the Popiſh Clergy, among whom great Cardinals and Prelates have been Commanders of Armies, Chief Miniſters, Knights of many Orders, Ambaſſadors, Secretaries of State, and in moſt high Offices under the Crown, although they aſſert the *indelible Character*, which no Sectaries among us did ever aſſume. But, that many both Persbyterians and Independents, Commanders, as well as private Soldiers, were profeſſed Preachers in the Time of their Dominion, is allowed by all.

all. *Cromwell* himſelf was a Preacher, and hath left us one of his Sermons in *Print*, exactly in the ſame Style and Manner with thoſe of our modern *Presbyterian Teachers*: So was Colonel *Howard*, Sir *George Downing*, and ſeveral others whoſe Names are on Record. I can therefore, ſee no Reaſon why a painful *Presbyterian Teacher*, as ſoon as the *Teſt* ſhall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold, along with his Spiritual Office and Stipend, a Commiſſion in the Army; or the Civil Liſt in *Commendam*: For, as I take it, the Church of *England* is the only Body of Chriſtians, which, in Effect, diſqualifies thoſe who are employed to preach its Doctrine, from ſharing in the *Civil Power*, further than as Senators; yet this was a *Privilege* begun in *Times* of *Popery*, many Hundred Years before the Reformation, and woven with the very Inſtitution of our limited Monarchy.

There is, indeed, another Method, whereby the Stipends of *Diſſenting Teachers* may be raiſed, and the Farmer much relieved; if it ſhould be thought proper to reward a *People* ſo deſerving, and ſo loyal by their *Principles*. Every Biſhop, upon the Vacancy of a Church Living, can ſequeſter the Profits for the Uſe of the next Incumbent. Upon a Lapſe of half a Year, the Donation falls to the Archbiſhop, and after a full Year to the Crown, during *Pleaſure*. Therefore, it would be no Hardſhip upon any Clergyman alive, if, in thoſe Parts of *Ireland* where the Number of Sectaries much exceeds that of the *Conformiſts*;

miſts; the *Profits*, when ſequeſtered, might be applied to the Support of the *Diſſenting Teacher*, who hath ſo many Souls to take Care of; whereby the poor Tenants would be much relieved in theſe hard Times, and in a better Condition to pay their Rents.

But there is another Difficulty in this Matter, againſt which a Remedy doth not ſo readily occur. For, ſuppoſing the *Teſt Act* repealed, and the *Diſſenters* in Conſequence fully qualified for all Secular Employments; the Queſtion may ſtill be put, whether thoſe of *Ireland*, will be often the Perſons on whom they ſhall be beſtowed; becauſe it is imagined, there may be another *Seminary* in View, *more numerous* and *more needy*, as well as *more meriting*, and more eaſily contented with ſuch low Offices; which ſome nearer Neighbours hardly think it worth ſtirring from their Chimney-ſides to obtain. And, I am told, it is the common Practice of thoſe who are skilled in the Management of Bees, that when they ſee a foreign Swarm at ſome Diſtance, approaching with an Intention to plunder their Hives, theſe Artiſts have a Trick to divert them into ſome neighbouring Apiary, there to make what Havock they pleaſe. This, I ſhould not have hinted, if I had not known it already, to have gotten Ground in many ſuſpecting Heads: For it is the peculiar Talent of this Nation, to ſee Dangers afar off: To all which, I can only ſay, that our Native *Presbyterians*, muſt

muſt by Pains and Induſtry, raiſe ſuch a Fund of Merit, as will anſwer to a Birth ſix Degrees more to the *North*. If they cannot arrive at this Perfection, as ſeveral of the Eſtabiſhed Church have compaſſed by indefatigable Pains, I do not well ſee how their Affairs will much mend by repealing the Teſt; for, to be qualified by Law to accept an Employment, and yet to be diſqualified in Fact, as it will much increaſe the Mortification, ſo it will withdraw the Pity of many among their Well-wiſhers, and utterly deprive them of that Merit they have ſo long made of being a loyal, true Proteſtant People, perſecuted only for Religion.

If this happen to be their Caſe they muſt wait Maturity of Time, till they can by prudent, gentle Steps make their Faith become the Religion Eſtabliſhed in the Nation; after which, I do not in the leaſt doubt, that they will take the moſt effectual Methods to ſecure their Power againſt thoſe who muſt then be *Diſſenters* in their Turn; whereof, if we may form a future Opinion from preſent Times, and the Diſpoſition of *Diſſenters*, who love to make a *thorough Reformation*, the Number and Qualities will be very inconſiderable.

Thus I have with the utmoſt Sincerity, after long thinking, given my Judgment upon this arduous Affair; but with the utmoſt Deference, and Submiſſion to publick Wiſdom and Power.

QUERIES.

Query. WHETHER Hatred and Violence between Parties in a State be not more inflamed by different Views of Interest, than by the greater or lesser Differences between them, either in Religion or Government?

Whether it be any Part of the Question at this time, which of the two Religions is worse, *Popery* or *Fanaticism*; or not rather, which of the two, (having both the same good Will) is in the hopefullest Condition to ruin the Church?

Whether the Sectaries whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the Church as infallibly and effectually as the Papists?

Whether the prevailing Sectaries could allow Liberty of Conscience to Dissenters, without belying all their former Practice, and almost all their former Writings?

Whether many hundred thousand *Scotch* Presbyterians, are not full as virulent against the Episcopal Church, as they are against the

the Papists; or, as they would have us think, the Papists are against them?

Whether the *Dutch*, who are most distinguished for allowing Liberty of Conscience, do ever admit any Persons, who profess a different Scheme of Worship from their own, into Civil Employments; although, they *may* be forced by the Nature of their Government, to receive mercenary Troops of all Religions?

Whether the Dissenters ever pretended till of late Years to desire more than a bare Toleration?

Whether, if it be true, what a sorry Pamphleteer asserts, who lately writ for repealing the Test, that the Dissenters in this Kingdom are equally numerous with the Churchmen: It would not be a necessary Point of Prudence, by all proper and lawful Means to prevent their further Increase?

The great Argument given by those whom they call Low Church Men, to justify the large Tolerations allowed to Dissenters, hath been, that by such Indulgences, the Rancour of those Sectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their Parties in a little Time crumble to nothing.

Query. If what the above Pamphleteer asserts, that the Sectaries, are in equal Numbers with Conformists, it doth not clearly follow, that

that thoſe repeated Tolerations, have operated directly contrary to what thoſe Low Church Politicians pretended to foreſee and expect.

Whether any Clergyman, however dignified or diſtinguiſhed, if he thinks his own Profeſſion moſt agreeable to Holy Scriptures, and the Primitive Church, can really wiſh in his Heart, that all the Sectaries ſhould be upon an equal Foot with the Churchmen in the Point of Civil Power and Employments?

Whether Epiſcopacy, which is held by the Church to be a Divine and Apoſtolical Inſtitution, be not a fundamental Point of Religion, particularly in that eſſential one of conferring Holy Orders?

Whether, by neceſſary Conſequences, the ſeveral Expedients among the Sectaries to conſtitute their Teachers, are not abſolutely null and void?

Whether the Sectaries will ever agree to accept Ordination only from Biſhops?

Whether the Biſhops and Clergy will be content to give up Epiſcopacy, as a Point indifferent, without which the Church cannot well ſubſiſt?

Whether that great Tenderneſs towards Sectaries, which now ſo much prevails. be chi fly owing to theFcars of Popery, or to that Spirit of Atheiſm, Deiſm, Scepticiſm, and uni-

univerſal Immorality, which all good Men, ſo much lament?

Granting Popery to have many more Errors in Religion than any one Branch of the Sectaries; let us examine the Actions of both, as they have each affected the Peace of theſe Kingdoms, with Allowance for the ſhort Time, which the Sectaries had to act in, who are, in a Manner but of Yeſterday. The Papiſts in the Time of King *James* the 2d. uſed all Endeavours to eſtabliſh their Superſtition; wherein they failed by the united Power of *Engliſh* Church Proteſtants, with the Prince of *Orange*'s Aſſiſtance. But it cannot be aſſerted, that theſe bigotted Papiſts, had the leaſt Deſign to depoſe or murder their King, much leſs to aboliſh kingly Government, nor was it their Intereſt or Inclination to attempt either.

On the other Side the Puritans, who had almoſt from the Beginning of Qu. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, been a perpetual Thorn in the Church's Side, joining with the *Scotch* Enthuſiaſts, in the Time of King *Charles* the firſt, were the principal Cauſe of the *Iriſh Rebellion* and *Maſacre*, by diſtreſſing that Prince, and making it impoſſible for him to ſend over timely Succours. And, after that pious Prince had ſatisfyed his Parliament in every ſingle Point to be complained of; the ſame Sectaries by poiſoning the Minds and Af-

Affections of the People, with the moſt falſe and wicked Repreſentations of their King, were able in the Compaſs of a few Years to embroil the three Nations in a bloody Rebellion, at the Expence of many Thouſand Lives, to turn the kingly Power into Anarchy, to murder their Prince in the Face of the World, and (in their own Style) to deſtroy the Church Root and Branch.

The Account therefore ſtands thus. The Papiſts aimed at one pernicious Act, which was to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion; wherein, by God's Mercy, and the Aſſiſtance of our Glorious King *William*, they abſolutely failed. The Sectaries attempted the three moſt infernal Actions, that could poſſibly enter into Hearts of Men, forſaken by God; which were the Murder of a moſt pious King, the Deſtruction of the Monarchy, and the Extirpation of the Church; and ſucceeded in them all.

Upon which, I put the following Queries, Whether any of thoſe Sectaries have ever yet in a ſolemn publick Manner, renounced any one of thoſe Principles upon which their Predeceſſors then acted?

Whether, conſidering the cruel Perſecutions of the Epiſcopal Church, during the Courſe of that horrid Rebellion and the Conſequences of it, till the happy Reſtoration; is it not manifeſt, that the perſecuting Spirit

Iyes

lies ſo equally divided between the *Papiſts* and Sectaries, that a Feather would turn the Balance on either Side?

And therefore laſtly, Whether any Perſon of common Underſtanding, who profeſſeth himſelf a Member of the Church eſtabliſhed, although perhaps with little inward Regard to any Religion (which is too often the Caſe) if he loves the Peace and Welfare of his Country, can after cool Thinking, rejoice to ſee a Power placed again in the Hands of ſo reſtleſs, ſo ambitious, and ſo mercileſs a Faction, to act over all the ſame Parts a ſecond Time?

Whether the Candor of that Expreſſion, ſo frequent of late in Sermons and Pamphlets, of the *Strength and Number of the* Papiſts *in* Ireland, can directly be juſtified? For as to their Number, however great, it is always magnified in Proportion to the Zeal or Politicks of the Speaker and Writer; but it is a groſs Impoſition upon common Reaſon to terrify us with their Strength. For *Popery* under the Circumſtances it lies in this Kingdom, although it be offenſive, and inconvenient enough from the Conſequences it hath to encreaſe the Rapine, Sloth and Ignorance, as well as Poverty of the Natives, is not properly dangerous in that Senſe, as ſome would have us take it, becauſe it is univerſally hated by every Party of a different Religious Profeſſion. It is the Contempt of the Wiſe:

The beſt Topick for Clamours of deſigning Men: But the real Terror only of Fools. The Landed *Popiſh* Intereſt in *England* far exceeds that among us, even in Proportion to the Wealth and Extent of each Kingdom. The little that remains here is daily dropping into *Proteſtant* Hands, by Purchaſe or Deſcent; and that affected Complaint of counterfeit Converts, will fall with the Cauſe of it in half a Generation, unleſs it be raiſed or kept alive, as a continual Fund of Merit and Eloquence. The *Papiſts* are wholly diſarmed. They have neither Courage, Leaders, Money, or Inclinations to rebel. They want every Advantage which they formerly poſſeſſed, to follow that Trade; and wherein, even with thoſe Advantages, they always miſcarried. They appear very eaſy and ſatisfied under that Connivance which they enjoyed during the whole laſt Reign, nor ever ſcrupled to reproach another Party, under which they pretend to have ſuffered ſo much Severity.

Upon theſe Conſiderations I muſt confeſs to have ſuſpended much of my Pity towards the great Dreaders of Popery; many of whom appear to be hail, ſtrong, active young Men, who as I am told, eat, drink and ſleep heartily; and are very chearful (as they have exceeding good Reaſon) upon all other Subjects. However, I cannot too much commend the generous Concern, which

which our Neighbours and others, who come from the ſame Neighbourhood, are ſo kind to expreſs for us upon this Account, altho' the former be further removed from the Dangers of *Popery* by twenty Leagues of Salt Water: But this I fear is a Digreſſion?

When an artificial Report was raiſed here many Years ago, of an intended Invaſion by the *Pretender* (which blew over after it had done its Office) the *Diſſenters* argued in their Talk and in their Pamphlets after this Manner, applying themſelves to thoſe of the Church. Gentlemen, If the *Pretender* had landed, as the Law now ſtands we durſt not aſſiſt you, and therefore unleſs you take off the Teſt, whenever you ſhall happen to be invaded in earneſt; if we are deſired to take up Arms in your Defence, our Anſwer ſhall be, Pray Gentlemen, fight your own Battles, we will lye by quietly, conquer your Enemy by your ſelves, if you can; we will not do your Drudgery. This Way of Reaſoning I have heard from ſeveral of their Chiefs and Abettors in an hundred Congregations, and have read it in twenty Pamphlets; and, I am confident, it will be offered again, if the Project ſhould fail to take off the Teſt.

Upon which Piece of Oratory and Reaſoning, I form the following Query. Whether, in Caſe of an Invaſion from the Pretender (which is not quite ſo probable as

from

from the Grand Seignior) the Diſſenters can with Prudence and Safety offer the ſame Plea, except they ſhall have made a previous Stipulation with the Invaders? And, Whether the full Freedom of their Religion and Trade, their Lives, Properties, Wives, and Children, are not, and have always been reckoned ſufficient Motives for repelling Invaſions, eſpecially in our Sectaries, who call themſelves the trueſt Proteſtants, by Virtue of their pretended or real Fierceneſs againſt Popery?

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the Day of the Matrydom of the Bleſſed King *Charles* the firſt, enjoyned by Act of Parliament, can be juſtly reckoned a particular and diſtinguiſhing Mark of good Affection to the preſent Government?

Whether in thoſe Churches where the ſaid Day is obſerved, it will fully anſwer the Intent of the ſaid Act, that the Preacher ſhould commend, excuſe, palliate, or extenuate the Murder of that Royal Matyr, and lay the Guilt of that horrid Rebellion, with all its Conſequences; the following Uſurpations, the intire Deſtruction of the Church, the cruel and continual Perſecutions of thoſe who could be diſcovered to profeſs its Doctrines, with the enſuing *Babel* of Fanaticiſm, to the Account of that bleſſed King, who, by granting the Petition of Right, and paſſing every Bill that could be asked for the

Security

Security of the Subject, had, by the Confeſſion, even of thoſe wicked Men, before the War began, left them nothing more to demand?

Whether ſuch a Preacher as I have named, (whereof there have been more than *one*, not many Years paſt, even in the Preſence of Viceroys) takes that Courſe as a means for Promotion, may not be thought to ſtep a little out of the common Road, in a Monarchy where the Deſcendants of that moſt bleſſed Martyr have reigned to this Day?

I ground the Reaſon of making theſe Queries on the Title of the Act, to which I refer the Reader.

FINIS.

10 JA60

Dublin, *November* 21, 1733.

THE Writings of the Reverend Dr. J. S. D. S. P. D. were publiſhed ſix Years ago in *London*, in three Volumes, mingled with thoſe of ſome other Gentlemen his Friends. Neither is it eaſy to diſtinguiſh the Authors of ſeveral Pieces contained in them.

But, beſides thoſe three Volumes, there are ſeveral Treatiſes relating to *Ireland*, that were firſt publiſhed in this Kingdom, many of which are not contained in the *Drapier's Letters*.

It hath been long wiſhed, by ſeveral Perſons of Quality and Diſtinction, that a new compleat Edition of this Author's Works, ſhould be printed by itſelf.

But this can no where be done ſo conveniently as in *Ireland*, where Bookſellers cannot pretend to any Property in what they publiſh, either by Law or Cuſtom.

This is therefore to give Notice, that the Undertaker, *George Faulkner*, Printer, in *Eſſex-ſtreet*, is now printing, by Subſcription, all the Works that are generally allowed to have been written by the ſaid Dr. S. in four Volumes; which are now in the Preſs, at 17 *s.* and 4 *d.* bound, beautifully printed on a fine Paper in *Octavo*, and ſhall be delivered to the Subſcribers by the 25th of *March* next: Eight *Engliſh* Shillings to be paid at the Time of ſubſcribing, and the Remainder at the Delivery of a compleat Set. Whoever ſubſcribes for ſix Copies, ſhall have a Seventh *gratis*.

The firſt Volume ſhall contain the Proſe Part of the Author's Miſcellanies, printed many Years ago in *London* and *Dublin*; together with ſeveral other Treatiſes ſince publiſhed in ſmall Papers, or in the three Volumes ſet out and ſigned *Jonathan Swift*, and *Alexander Pope*.

The ſecond Volume ſhall contain the Author's poetical Works, all joined together; with many original Poems,

Poems, that have hitherto only gone about in Manuſcript.

The third Volume ſhall contain the Travels of Capt. *Lemuel Gulliver*, in four Parts, wherein many Alterations made by the *London* Printers will be ſet right, and ſeveral Omiſſions inſerted. Which Alterations and Omiſſions were without the Author's Knowledge, and much to his Diſpleaſure, as we have learned from an intimate Friend of the Author's, who in his own Copy, tranſcribed in blank Paper, the ſeveral Paragraphs omitted, and ſettled the Alterations and Changes according to the original Copy.

The laſt Volume ſhall contain the Author's Letters, written under the Name of *M. B. Drapier*; with two additional Ones never printed before; and likewiſe ſeveral Papers relating to *Ireland*, acknowledged to be of the ſame Author.

In this Edition, the groſs Errors committed by the Printers, both here and in *London*, ſhall be faithfully corrected; the true Original, in the Author's own Hand having been communicated to us by a Friend in whom the Author much confided, and who had Leave to correct his own printed Copies from the Author's moſt finiſhed Manuſcript, where ſeveral Changes were made, not only in the Style, but in other material Circumſtances.

N. B. A compleat Edition of the Author's Works can never be printed in *England*; becauſe ſome of them were publiſhed without his Knowledge or Liking, and conſequently belong to different Proprietors; and likewiſe, becauſe as they now ſtand, they are mingled with thoſe of other Gentlemen his Friends.

The Author's Effigies, curiouſly engraven by Mr. *Vertue*, ſhall be prefixed to each Volume. There will alſo be ſeveral other Cuts, proper to the Work.

Subſcriptions will be taken till the latter End of *December*, and no longer.

N. B. After the Subſcribers are ſerved, no other Perſons ſhall have the Works for leſs than a Guinea.